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ABSTRACT

Although the first black organization chartered in the United States, the Free African Society, was chartered in 1787, education for free blacks was largely a 19th-century phenomenon. By the time the Civil War broke out, black adults outside the South had established social structures that offered them education in civic, intellectual, and spiritual forms. However, such education was accessible only to those who were economically secure enough to have the time and initiative to take advantage of it. From churches and other organizations such as clubs and societies, free black adults were able to improve their education, learn to take pride in their cultural heritage, enhance their confidence and self-image, and develop consensus on appropriate behavior and living standards. Many societies helped them develop self-protection as the groups provided a means for collective action against laws and acts of violence toward blacks. The history of free black adult education demonstrates steady growth and an increasing complexity of organization from the late 1700s to 1860. The organizations formed in this period offered a firm foundation for future development of black adult education in the latter half of the 19th century. (The document includes 17 references.) (CML)

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# Free Black Adult Education before the Civil War

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Before the Civil War various kinds of adult education were available to free American blacks in many parts of the country. The bulk of it came in indirect forms; little evidence has emerged that would indicate an extensive network focused directly on intellectual and cultural development. Instead free black adults largely improved their own education as they functioned in groups organized to meet other needs of their daily lives. The amount of their access differed dramatically based upon their position in the community, their economic status, and their geographical location. This essay documents those variations and relates them to larger social configurations and movements of the times.[1]

## I. Before 1800

Adult education for free blacks was largely a nineteenth century phenomenon, but its seeds were sown in the late 1700s. Evidence of early organization points largely to Philadelphia where adult education surfaced first in 1787 in the form of the Free African Society, the first chartered Negro organization in the country. Its purpose was to uplift its members and others of the black community, and accordingly the group regulated marriages, taught thrift, tried to improve the morals of its members, and served as a forerunner of moral improvement societies in number of other cities. It opposed singing and dancing, maintaining that the society should help the needy of the race.[2]

Another function that the Free African Society served was that of a beneficial club. This type organization, the most numerous of all antebellum black organizations, was designed primarily to

provide security for member blacks whose employment was frequently seasonal, unstable, and ill-paid. Members paid a weekly stipend, usually $.25, to the club in return for assurance of help for their families in cases of unemployment, illness, or death. Distribution of benefits was usually directed by a club committee.[3]

The clubs increasingly attracted people of the same kind, e.g. members of the same church or workers in the same trade. By overseeing members' morals and lifestyles, a beneficial club could exercise control over its disbursements. Consequently, many of the beneficial clubs soon limited their memberships to individuals perceived to be appropriate to maintenance of the club's financial health.[4]

Other cities witnessed the establishment of similar groups. In New Orleans the Perseverance Benevolence and Mutual Aid Association was created in 1783. Boston had the Boston African Society in 1796, and New York City had an association that maintained a church site and a burial plot.[7] Another pre-1800 Philadelphia benevolent society was the Benevolent Daughters, established in 1796.[5]

Beneficial clubs in Charleston most strikingly illustrated the role of skin color and social class in membership. The most prestigious of the city's beneficial clubs was the Brown Fellowship Society established in 1790 and open only to free mulattoes. Limited to 50 members who paid a $50 initiation fee and monthly dues, the society provided a minimum of $1.50 a week to members too ill to work, a $60 annuity for indigent widows and orphans, and burial in the society's burial grounds, benefits substantially

higher than those of similar groups. It attracted Charleston's most outstanding mulatto citizens. The following year, free Africans formed Free Dark Men of Color; its membership, limited to 35, was not so well to do as those in the Brown Fellowship. It paid widows an annuity of only $12 and maintained a burying ground next to that of the Brown Fellowship but separated by a stout fence.[6]

Although regulation of morality was often a function of the beneficial societies, a few groups were organized primarily as agents of moral improvement. Philadelphia's Society for the Suppression of Vice and Immorality, established in 1809, is an outstanding example. Other similar moral improvement groups included temperance societies and Bible groups.[7]

Separate black religious groups grew slowly in North America. Unlike other immigrants which brought their church with them and established it immediately upon the new soil, blacks first needed to establish a sense of identity before breaking away from white mainstream religion. Only three small black churches emerged before 1790. The growth after that date was stimulated by whites' increasing discomfiture with black membership, and blacks' growing reluctance to continue tolerating discrimination in seating, communion, and church leadership.[8]

Philadelphia's Free African Society began to help the establishment of black religion in 1788 when two of its founders, Richard Allen and Absalom Jones, were asked to move to segregated seating in the formerly integrated St. George's Methodist Church.[3] The society collected funds and built a church. Although Allen

wanted a Methodist church, the society voted to make the church Episcopalian, and Absalom Jones agreed to be its first priest. Whites objected to him because of his lack of training, and for a number of years relations were strained between the white Episcopalian churches and the new African Church of St. Thomas.[4] When it emerged from the society, it established two beneficial societies of its own, the Female Benevolent Society of St. Thomas and the male African Friendly Society of St. Thomas.[9]

The next black church in Philadelphia was the root of what eventually became the first separate black denomination in the country. Richard Allen thought that Methodism better suited blacks than Episcopalianism because of the former's strong anti-slavery stance, simple preaching, and emotional services. Consequently, he formed his own church, the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church.[10]

Another black organization with eighteenth century roots was the fraternal order. The earliest black lodge was a Masonic one established by Prince Hall in Boston in 1775. Others were founded in Providence and Philadelphia in the 1790s. These groups had literary, beneficial, social, and philanthropic purposes.[11]

## II. 1800-1830

Everywhere except in the South, the first three decades of the nineteenth century witnessed steady growth in black organizations and a greater variety of adult educational opportunities. Beneficial groups and black churches increased, and a black newspaper and literary societies were started.

The numbers of beneficial societies grew rapidly in the opening decades of the nineteenth century and continued their multipurpose functions of providing aid to its members and directing and improving their life styles. Next to the church perhaps, these societies provided more of a sense of identification to the black communities than any other group. Some of the stronger ones offered talks about black heroes, discredited popular conceptions about black inferiority, and provided forums for emerging black community leaders.[12]

New York witnessed the organization of one of the most prominent of these societies, the New York African Society for Mutual Relief, which attracted a socially distinguished clientele. Organized in 1808, beginning its work in 1809, and incorporated in 1810, it became one of the wealthiest of all such groups. It amassed so much income from rental property that membership dues comprised only a tenth of its income. Its wealth was also augmented by the fact that its 65 members were so carefully chosen that it had little need for disbursements. Because of this, historian Leonard P. Curry suspects that "its true purposes were more social than beneficial--a conclusion bolstered by its 'inordinate influence in the Negro community.'"[13]

Other societies started as well. In 1809 the Woolman Benevolent Society was organized in Brooklyn. Baltimore had a similar group by 1821, and Providence had two such societies by the late 1820s, the Young Men's Union Friendly Association and the Mutual Relief Society. Philadelphia witnessed the foundation of the Daughters of Africa in 1821. Its minutes show that its savings

fund covered the burial expenses of a member's husband and made a disbursement to a sick member's family. Like numerous other funds, it was concerned about the conduct of its members, and on one occasion it expelled a member for stealing.[14]

Some of these groups served others as well as themselves. The African Marine Fund in New York, while stressing good behavior for all is members, also proposed a school for black children in 1810. Another similar group in New York, the Society among the Free People of Colour, proposed a similar school in 1812. The Minors' Moralist Society of Charleston, organized in 1803, supported five free colored orphans.[15]

Other groups developed that were solely devoted to charity. African Dorcas societies in both Philadelphia and New York distributed clothing to the needy. The Philanthropic Society of Pittsburgh, established in 1834, relieved black indigents.16

Black churches continued to grow also in the first three decades of the 1800s as their denominations split from their white precursors; forms of Methodism were the most popular, followed in order by Baptist, Presbyterian, and Episcopalian denominations.

The AME denomination was one of the most rapidly expanding. It separated from Methodist authority in 1816, becoming the first independent black denomination in the country with the merger of Richard Allen's Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia and another church in Baltimore. Other congregations were soon started throughout the Northeast. In Charleston, Morris Brown started an AME church that had attracted 3000 members by 1822 when it was destroyed as an unfortunate result of the uncovering of

the Denmark Vesey plot. By 1850, every major city except Charleston had an AME church. Another black Methodist denomination, the AME Zion group established itself as a separate denomination in 1822. Despite Methodism's appeal, not all Methodist church groups affiliated with black denominations.[17]

The Baptists were the next most popular denomination, appealing because of the simplicity of its administrative structure, congregational independence, and simpler ordination procedures. Boston boasted a black Baptist church by 1805, New York by 1807, and Philadelphia by 1810. All were small congregations, but the Philadelphia church owned land by 1817. Baptist churches later spread to Albany, New Orleans, and St. Louis before a major growth spurt occurred in the 1830s.[18]

Philadelphia was also the home of the first black Presbyterian church, founded in 1807 by John Gloucester, a friend of Richard Allen's. It had a building by 1811 and served, as did the Bethel AME Church, as a center for the Underground Railway. The Second African Presbyterian Church of the same city was founded in 1824, when some members were displeased over the selection of the minister at the first church. Despite the establishment of the two Philadelphia churches, this denomination spread more slowly than the previous two. One reason may have been that black ministers were in short supply because of ordinational requirements.[19]

Episcopalianism was the fourth ranking denomination in popularity with antebellum blacks, but growth remained slow between 1800 and 1830. New York witnessed the establishment of its first black Episcopal church in 1809, but it did not get a building for

another ten years. Like the Presbyterians, it had difficulty locating a sufficient number of clergy.[20]

Blacks in the South were generally affiliated with white churches, albeit in a secondary role, since slave states regarded separate churches as sources of possible sedition. Free blacks and slaves, however, did not necessarily mingle in church and sometimes sat in separate sections. Blacks and whites in some churches had separate activities; in Charleston's Episcopal churches, for instance, colored members supported a white missionary on the west coast of Africa.[21]

There were class distinctions among the church membership. W. E. B. DuBois noted that in Philadelphia, Episcopalians tended to be well-to-do; Presbyterians were the older, simpler set of respectable Philadelphians; the AME appealed to the laboring class and the Baptists attracted servant girls and their young men. It is highly likely that a similar set of class distinctions could be found in any city with a number of churches.[22]

Regardless of denomination, the churches assumed similar functions. They served as social centers, shapers of political opinions and racial consciousness, incubators of black leaders, and regulators of morals; in a few cases, they even expelled members who continued their misbehavior. In taking on these roles, the black churches served as the most far-reaching agencies of black adult education in the antebellum United States. Its influence provided succor to an oppressed people:

> in a world where every lever of power was held by a white hand and every symbol of authority was white, the separated church

> in a world where every lever of power was held by a white hand and every symbol of authority was white, the separated church stood as a towering monument to the zeal, strength, and determination of the American Negro--a black rock casting a cooling shadow in a harsh desert of whiteness.[23]

Black Americans developed other organizations in response to blacks' status throughout the country. Again, Philadelphia was the center of much of this activity. Even before 1800, the Free African Society had petitioned Congress on several occasions concerning the slave trade. In 1806 Absalom Jones, Richard Allen, and James Forten drafted a petition to Congress seeking modifications to the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793, and a number of anti-slavery groups developed throughout the Northeast. A most active one was in New Haven, Connecticut, and both New York and Philadelphia had several. By 1830, about fifty such groups existed. There was also concern about efforts to remove all blacks from North America. A mass meeting was held at Bethel Church in 1817 to protest plans of the American Colonization Society to deport blacks to Africa.[24]

Before 1830 most blacks were still so concerned with their survival that they chose to direct their excess energy toward the churches and beneficial societies that enhanced their security. Consequently, the first part of the nineteenth century witnessed the birth of few black organizations whose purposes were intellectual enhancement. The most common types of the intellectual organizations were literary and debating societies,

although lyceums, oratory, and prose reading groups were also organized. Boston had a debating society and Brooklyn a reading club by 1825; Philadelphia had a reading room group by 1828, the Colored Reading Society for Mental Improvement.[25]

Many societies, both beneficial and literary, were limited to one sex. The former, which were frequently organized around trades, naturally sparked the interest of many black women working outside the homes as maids, laundresses, and cooks. In some areas, women organized and joined beneficial societies more frequently than men, but men's were likely to be more prosperous.[26]

Fraternal lodges, which also functioned in some cases as literary societies, continued to grow. Boston's Prince Hall Grand Lodge chartered a lodge in New York in 1812 and three others by 1825. The First Independent African Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, which had been formed with four subordinate lodges in 1815, established the Social Lodge in Washington in 1822 and the Friendship Lodge in Baltimore in 1825.[27]

Toward the end of the nineteenth century's first three decades, Black Americans developed another highly important form of adult education: the newspaper. Freedom's Journal printed its first weekly issue in New York City on March 16, 1827. Its editors were James B. Russworm, the first black college graduate (Bowdoin) in the United States, and the Reverend Samuel Cornish. Declaring that "useful knowledge of every kind, and every thing that relates to Africa, shall find a ready admission into our columns," the newspaper solicited $3 annual subscriptions up and

down the East Coast. The newspaper ceased publication in 1829, possibly because of the opposing opinions of its editors regarding the African colonization movement, but two months later Cornish began the short-lived The Rights of All.[28]

The growth of organizations in the early nineteenth century was largely confined to the North due to the fact that many southern states had laws that restricted gatherings of blacks or that barred free blacks from associating with slaves. Although upperclass free blacks in major cities like New Orleans and Charleston were only tangentially affected due to their well established connections to influential whites, these laws limited the establishment of official organizations. While schools for free black children were sometimes tolerated, they were often actually illegal.[29]

## III. 1830-1860

Many of the organizations that had their roots in previous decades continued to grow everywhere in the pre Civil War decades except in the South where conditions became more repressive, even for free blacks. To the already established outlets of adult education were added black anti-slavery societies. Philadelphia, always the leader in black cultural affairs, was sufficiently sophisticated in numbers and kinds of black adult educational outlets by 1840 that one observed described the city as having an upper class "large enough to be composed of distinct circles, divided into no less than four Protestant denominations and

numerous delegating, beneficial, masonic, and literary associations."[30]

Although many beneficial societies organized in the previous period, their real growth spurt occurred after 1830. Records of beneficial societies can be located in cities where none had been found previously. Albany, for example, was the home of the Female Lundy Society in the 1830s, and a similar group could be found in Cincinnati. Washington's first such organization can be traced to the 1850s.[31]

New such societies, sometimes more specialized, appeared in other cities. Philadelphia witnessed in 1839 the establishment of the Agricultural and Mechanical Association of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, designed to help people move into trades. The function of another group, the Agricultural Emigrant Association was to establish a settlement in Montana, for those wishing to escape from an urban American into a rural one. By 1848 the city's blacks ran Lebanon Cemetery, in which people could buy lots. Charleston's mulatto citizens organized the Friendly Moralist Society in 1839, while the city's Free Dark Men of Color changed its name to the Humane Brotherhood.[32]

Societies with moral and philanthropic missions continued to organize. In Philadelphia the Association for the Moral and Intellectual Improvement of the People of Color started in 1837 with a mission of visiting black families with a purpose of encouraging the education of their children. In Charleston the Christian Benevolent Society was founded in 1839 to aid sick and

impoverished people of color. Like similar groups, however, its resources were meagre; between 1839 and 1856, it assisted 70 people and spent only $1228. In New Orleans the Christian Benevolent Society was founded in 1839 to assist the poor. The Colored Female Benevolent Society of Louisiana was also organized in the same city in 1846 not only to relieve the sick and bury the dead but also to suppress vice and inculcate virtue.[33]

After 1830 another form of moral improvement emerged: black temperance societies. Two early leaders were Jehiel Beman and his son Amos. In 1833 Jehiel helped found a society in Middletown, Connecticut, and three years later his son was an organizer of the state temperance group. In 1842 the Connecticut temperance group joined with three other states to form the States Delavan Union Temperance Society of Colored People. Although these groups' primary concern was temperance, they also discussed "slavery, education, a national convention, employment offices for the colored, [and] the importance of the mechanical arts and of agriculture to Negroes.[34]

Churches continued their expansion, resulting in over one hundred separate religious congregations disbursed in fifteen cities by 1850. Other denominations besides the "big four" appeared as well, although often in short-lived forms. Before the Civil War, black congregations of Dutch Reformed, Lutheran, Unitarian, Disciples of Christ, and Catholic congregations surfaced at least briefly.[35]

Methodists continued as the largest denomination; by

mid-century there were about sixty Methodist churches in urban areas, two-thirds of whom were allied with one of the black-controlled denominations. Although congregations continued to grow, membership grew at a slower pace.[36]

The Baptists experienced a major growth spurt in the 1830s with the appearance of new black congregations in Cincinnati, Washington, Louisville, Baltimore, and Buffalo; a black Baptist church in Detroit was organized in 1836, though it did not own a building until 1857. Second congregations appeared in New York, Philadelphia, and Providence. In Philadelphia by the 1840s, the Baptist denomination was associated with migrants from the South.[37]

Presbyterians continued to gain ground, especially in the 1840s. Congregations were formed in Baltimore, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Cincinnati, Louisville, Pittsburgh, and Washington. Philadelphia got its third Presbyterian church and New York its second. The limited supply of black ministers stimulated the establishment of a short-lived academy in Philadelphia to train them.[38]

Episcopalianism remained the smallest of the four largest denominations. Providence got a black Episcopalian congregation in 1839, and Brooklyn in 1846. Philadelphia got its second Episcopal church in 1847. In the South, Charleston established a separate but subordinate black congregation in 1849, and New Orleans authorized its black Episcopalians to hold separate services in the 1850s.[39]

The 1830 through 1860 period showed major growth in literary

organizations, and most seemed longer-lived than the ones begun previously. Two important societies were formed in 1833. The one in New York, the Phoenix Society, attracted men that became national black leaders such as newspaper editor Samuel E. Cornish and abolitionist David Ruggles. The society developed discussion groups, a lecture series, a library, and reading rooms. It had subordinate ward societies that formed the same function on lower levels. Simultaneously, the Philadelphia Library Company of Colored Persons opened. By 1838 its 150 members met in the basement of the St. Thomas African Episcopal Church and housed their 600 volume library there. Pittsburgh blacks founded a literary club in 1832, the Pittsburg [sic] African Education Society, and also Providence witnessed the start of a literary club in 1833.[40]

Especially among the literary groups, a society for men sometimes had a female counterpart. For example, in Philadelphia men had, shortly after 1830, the Banneker Society, the Rush Library Company and Debating Society, and the Demosthenian Institute, while women organized the Minerva Literary Society and the Edgeworth Society. The Minerva Society met weekly, and members read their original compositions. Women's groups, however, did not usually hold debates, since argument was not considered an appropriate aspect of female character. Meeting topics were often stereotypical, with women hearing about moral improvement and the influence of the woman on family life, while men discussed current issues of the day. It is likely that many protests and petitions of the day were formed at these meetings.[41]

Two Philadelphia groups had a scientific interest. The Gilbert Lyceum, established in 1841 and open to both sexes, studied both literary and scientific topics. The Banneker Institute, named after the black mathematician and astronomer Benjamin Banneker, established in 1854 discussed literary and scientific topics and also those of particular interest to blacks. Although membership was open to both sexes, only male members could vote. [42]

Little evidence exists of similar groups in the South. One exception is a group of seventeen New Orleans mulatto poets who published an anthology of their poetry Les Cenelles: Choix de Poesies Indigenes [Cenelle: Selection of Native Poetry] in 1845. Probably financed by the poets themselves, their friends, and families, the book contained 85 poems with themes of melancholy, death, suicide, nature, and thwarted love. The book was preceded by a short-lived literary journal in 1843, L'Album Littéraire, Journal des jeunes gens, amateurs de Littérature, edited by a white man and whose main contributors were mulattoes.[43]

Newspapers continued to spread so rapidly that by 1865 about 50 black newspapers had been founded; most were published weekly, focused on abolitionism and did not last long. Among the more famous were The Colored American begun in New York in 1837 and edited by Samuel Cornish and Philip A. Bell and Frederick Douglass's North Star which began publication in 1847. Readers of black newspapers were largely but not entirely black, and the tradition of passing newspapers from reader to reader makes total readership hard to estimate.[44]

Three events mark the advent of militant abolitionism in the 1830s--the publication of William Lloyd Garrison's The Liberator, the insurrection of Nat Turner, and the appearance of David Walker's Appeal. This third event had special significance to blacks. Walker, a free North Carolina black who had moved to Boston, urged both free and enslaved blacks to end slavery. His essay caught the attention of many Americans and helped galvanize blacks into cooperating with whites in the establishment of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Its declaration of sentiments was drawn up in Philadelphia, and five blacks served on its first board of managers.[45]

Blacks were particularly active in the formation and maintenance of vigilance committees which helped facilitate slaves' successful escapes. The committees raised money to assist fleeing slaves and frequently supplied them with food, shelter, and clothing as they made their way to freedom. The first was established in 1819 in Baltimore which was an early stop for fleeing slavery. New York established a similar committee in 1835 and Philadelphia two years later. These groups often had socially prominent blacks as their leaders.[46]

Neither the North nor the South was a particularly hospitable place for blacks, particularly in the decades just before the Civil War. Southern states sought ways of removing free blacks from their soil and placed restrictions on the ones remaining as means of tightening the security of their slaves. Wealthy free blacks in Charleston, increasingly fearful of being enslaved themselves, sent

their families from the state to ensure their safety. In numerous states, black preachers were forbidden to preach, and schools for free blacks were closed. Texas passed a law in 1840 requiring free blacks to leave the state within two years but later amended it to allow them to stay if they were already residents when Texas won its independence from Mexico. The North witnessed outbreaks of violence in Ohio in 1830, several places in New York in 1834 and 1839, and in Pennsylvania, where trouble occurred in Philadelphia in 1834, 1835, and 1842, and in Pittsburgh in 1839. Pennsylvania also limited voting rights to white males in 1838.[47]

Partly as a result of these mounting troubles, blacks held a series of national conventions beginning in the 1830s. The first occurred in Philadelphia in 1830, and others were held up until the Civil War. Attended mainly by blacks from the seaboard states and supported by a number of whites, these meetings passed resolutions urging the creation of more black organizations which would defend blacks' civil rights and speaking against restrictive laws and on various incidents of violence. One in 1843, for instance, in Buffalo concerned itself with enfranchisement and equal rights. It passed resolutions against colonization and pro-slavery churches. Another in 1853 tried to establish a structure of local societies with dues of one cent per week to a national council and national committees to address manual labor schooling, a protective union, business relations, and publications. Little came from the plan, however.[48]

## IV. What Was Learned

By the time the Civil War broke out, blacks outside the South had well established social structures which offered adult education in civic, intellectual, and spiritual forms. However, access to it was limited to those who were economically secure enough to have sufficient time and initiative to take advantage of it. In a racially oppressive United States, these societies grew and flourished.

From churches, societies, and other organizations free adult blacks were able to improve their education and well-being. They learned to take pride in their cultural heritage despite the many negative connotations placed on it in a largely white society. They used these groups to enhance their confidence and self-images with presentations about their African heritage. Through churches, moral improvement groups, and beneficial societies they developed consensus on appropriate behavior and living standards. Many of their societies helped them develop self-protection as the groups provided a means for collective action against laws and acts of violence toward them. Free blacks learned from their groups to survive and progress by using the system of government and business to further their own well-being.

The history of free black adult education demonstrates steady growth and an increasing complexity of organization from the late 1700s to the Civil War. The organizations formed in this period offers a firm foundation for future development of black adult education in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

NOTES

1. Discussing free blacks' adult education sometimes necessitates the use of nineteenth distinctions among the race that were then common. In addition to differentiating between free and enslaved blacks, a closer examination of black community life especially in the South necessitates more detailed terminology on which social judgements were commonly made. The descriptor African generally referred to people without noticeable traces of white blood; the terms mulatto, colored, and brown were commonly used to describe individuals with mixed ancestry of black and white. Because these distinctions were critical to the degree to which blacks (in today's sense) were exposed to adult education, the terms above will be often employed in this essay. When discussing both African and colored people of the nineteenth century, the term black will be employed.

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3. Leonard P. Curry, The Free Black in Urban America 1800-1850: The Shadow of the Dream. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981), p. 197-98; Ballard, p. 41.

4. Curry, p. 199.

5. Curry, p. 197.

6. Michael P. Johnson and James L. Roark, Black Masters: A Free Family of Color in the Old South. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984), p. 212; Marina Wikramanayake, A World in Shadow: The Free Black in Antebellum South Carolina (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1973), p. 81; Johnson and Roark, p. 213.

7. Curry, p. 204.

8. Curry, pp. 174-75.

9. Ballard, pp. 41-42.

10. Ballard, p. 47.

11. Curry, p. 210.

12. John L. Rury, "Philanthropy, Self-Help, and Social Control: The New York Manumission Society and Free Blacks, 1785-1810," Phylon (1985), 46 (3): 238.

13. Daniel Perlman as quoted by Curry, p. 198.

14. Daughters of Africa Minutes, 1822-38. #8 American Negro Historical Society Papers, 1790-1901, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

15. Rury, p. 239; Johnson and Roark, Black Masters, p. 222.

16. Curry, p. 203; Arnett G. Lindsay, "The Economic Condition of the Negroes of New York Prior to 1861," Journal of Negro History 6 (April 1921), 190-199.

17. Ballard, pp. 47-49; Curry, 178-80.

18. Curry, p. 184; Sketches of The Higher Classes of Colored Society in Philadelphia by a Southerner. [rpt. Philadelphia: Merrilew and Thompson, 1841] Afro-American History Series. ed. by Maxwell Whiteman. Philadelphia Rhistorica Publications. Library Company of Philadelphia.

19. Ballard, p. 50; William T. Catto, "A Semi-Centenary Discourse Delivered in the First African Presbyterian Church Philadelphia," May 1857; Phila.: Joseph M. Wilson, 1857. Library Company of Philadelphia; Curry, p. 187.

20. Curry, pp. 189-90.

21. Michael P. Johnson and James L. Roark, eds. No Chariot Let Down: Charleston's Free People of Color on the Eve of the Civil War. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1984), p. 50..

22. DuBois as cited by Ballard, p. 50.

23. Curry, pp. 194-95.

24. Ballard, p. 66; John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans 5th ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980), p. 186.

25. Curry, p. 204.

26. Curry, p. 199.

27. Curry, p. 209; Ballard, p. 63.

28. Lindsay, p. 199; Lionel C. Barrow Jr., "'Our Own Cause:' Freedom's Journal and the Beginnings of the Black Press," Journalism History 4:4 (Winter, 1977-78), 119 and 121.

29. Annie Lee West Stahl, "The Free Negro in Ante-bellum Louisiana," Louisiana Historical Journal, April, 1942, 305; John Hope Franklin, The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790-1860 [New York: Russell & Russell, 1969 (rpt. The University of North Carolina Press, 1943)], p. 163.

30. Sketches of The Higher Classes of Colored Society in Philadelphia by a Southerner. [rpt. Philadelphia: Merrilew and Thompson, 1841] Afro-American History Series. ed. by Maxwell Whiteman. Philadelphia Historical Publications. Library Company of Philadelphia.

31. Curry, p. 198.

32. Ballard, p. 64; Johnson and Roark, Black Masters, p. 213.

33. Johnson and Roark, Black Masters, p. 222; Library Company of Philadelphia; Wikramanayake, p. 85; Curry, p. 203.

34. Robert A. Warner, "Amos Gerry Beman--1812-1874, A Memoir on a Forgotten Leader," Journal of Negro History, 22, 2 (April, 1937), 200-221.

35. Curry, p. 190.

36. Curry, p. 180.

37. Frank B. Woodford and Arthur M. Woodford, All Our Yesterdays: A Brief History of Detroit. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1969), p. 156; Curry, p. 184; Ballard, p. 51.

38. Curry, p. 187.

39. Curry, p. 189.

40. Curry, p. 204; Franklin, pp. 188-89; Ballard, p. 60; Edward Raymond Turner, The Negro in Pennsylvania: Slavery, Freedom, Servitude, 1639-1861. (New York: Arno Press [rpt. American Historical Association, 1911]), p. 132.

41. Curry, pp. 200 & 206-07; Sketches, pp. 107-08.

42. Ballard, p. 60; Sketches, pp. 109-10; American Negro Historical Society Papers #4748 1853-Joseph C. White Jr. Historical Society of Pennsylvania;

43. Patricia Brady Schmit, "Cultural Treasure Acquired," The Historic New Orleans Collection Newsletter V, 4 (Fall, 1987), 2-3.

44. Henk La Brie III, "Black Newspapers: The Roots are 150 Years Deep," Journalism History, 4:4 (Winter, 1977-78), 111;

45. Franklin, p. 187.

46. Franklin, p.188; Curry, p. 229.

47. Johnson and Roark, Chariot, p. 130; James M. Smallwood, Time of Hope, Time of Despair: Black Texans During Reconstruction (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1981), p. 23; Franklin, p. 174; Ballard, p. 73.

48. Franklin, p. 175; Warner, pp. 207 & 212.